thodox Congregationalism. Congregationalists are sometimes of late seized with this mania for denominational Colleges. We regret this; for it is a disease from which, according to the laws of their constitution, they ought to be exempt. And yet we sympathize with them; they have some apology for it: they have been rudely treated by their partners in some coöperative enterprises. But we think they mistake both the remedy for the evil, and the spirit of their Congregational brethren. The true remedy of the evil is not to endorse and sanction that very denominational exclusiveness and littleness by which their rights have been wrested from them, and to add to the number of denominational Colleges, by organizing others in the interest of Congregationalism; but to give their countenance, support, and strength, to those Colleges which are true to coöperative Christian principles, and to frown on all others, in whatever denomination found.

They mistake, too, the principles and tastes of the great Congregational brotherhood. We have misread our brethren of that connexion, or they will coöperate in Colleges on the basis we have advocated, much more cheerfully and efficiently than in those pledged to any denomination—even their own. They stand with their fathers. They would consecrate the College, "*Christo et ecclesiæ*," and neither they nor their fathers have yet dreamed that "*ecclesia*" means Congregationalism. Whatever may be true in other denominations, Congregationalists are under no necessity of shriveling themselves within the narrow limits of sect, for the sake of humoring the prejudices of their masses. If Congregational ministers and leaders will act on universal Christian principles, the Congregational brotherhood will sustain them. We think we do not speak "without the book;" and we hope that that spirit of coöperative charity which we know widely pervades the Congregational brotherhood, will be found to be not less abundant in other denominations also.

New England
February 1860

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Article IV.—THE REOPENING OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

An abstract of the evidence delivered before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in the years 1790 *and* 1791, *on the part of the petitioners for the abolition of the Slave Trade.* American Reform Tract and Book Society. Cincinnati. 1855.

Africa and the American Flag. By Commander Andrew H. Foote, U. S. Navy, Lieut. commanding U. S. Brig Perry, on the coast of Africa, A. D. 1850–1851. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1854.

Address of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, *before the Democratic State Convention, in the City of Jackson, Miss., July 6th,* 1859. New York Tribune.

Modern Reform Examined, or the Union of North and South on the subject of Slavery. By Joseph C. Stiles. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. 1857.

Livingstone's Travels and Researches in South Africa. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1858.

Barth's Discoveries in North and Central Africa. Harper & Brothers. 1858.

The Independent. New York.

Slight observation convinces the more intelligent that there are two antagonistic principles now at work in human society, two kinds of leaven permeating the body politic of the world. One is freedom, the other is bondage. The one is equal rights, the other is oppression. The two are here in the land of the American Revolution, in the land of the Pilgrims and Puritans. Their forces, like two great armies, are moving toward each other; they dispute a common territory, and a pitched

battle, or a series of battles, must be added to the encounters already experienced, until one or the other of these two irreconcilable principles is completely and forever victorious.

A new march on one side is now commencing. Whether we may interpret it as a sign of weakness and of partial defeat in past conflicts, or of courage and hope under the flush of supposed victory, it is a movement which must be met. It will be pressed to an engagement. And the issue will not leave both sides with their former advantages. We refer to the revival of the African slave trade. It is already reopened, or, if never closed, has received a prodigious increase. That which had been doomed to death under the ban of piracy has found a resurrection. Not indeed as yet with the consent of national law, but *despite* law. And the fear is that rulers and other men are viewing the transgressions as though the isolated statutes were, or would become, only a dead letter. This traffic winked at will reinstate itself in successful and extensive operation, as sure as two continents stand and an ocean rolls between. Once inaugurated in full career, terrible must be the conflict that can afterward destroy it.

But we may speak in advance of the queries of some of our readers. "Is the slave trade reopened? Is there danger that the laws against it may be repealed or become dead?" Others may say, "Is the slave trade certainly wrong? Is it actually contrary to justice and a violation of human rights?" Or, "Is it so enormously wrong as some represent? May it not be a mixture of good and evil, with so much of the former as to make the traffic tolerable? Ought it not to be respected as the chief act in a train of great and conspicuous missionary events?" These are questions that should be met.

"Is the slave trade reopened or of late largely augmented?" The attempt has been made to cast so much doubt over this inquiry as to give substantially a negative reply. But if we had not a single fact of detected illegal trade of this character, the evident state of public opinion at the South would at least suggest an affirmative. Why all this fever there upon that subject, if no slaves have recently been landed in the southern states from a foreign country? Are not the appetites of many

for this traffic already whetted by the taste? Are they all so law-abiding in the south as rigidly to observe all enactments that they pronounce unconstitutional? Have they suffered the most profitable of all kinds of commerce to go untouched, while affirming that the prohibition of it is an oppression on themselves? Their state of society prepares us to learn that they have already opened their ports to slavers. The easy course of judges and juries with the "Wanderer," allowing the guilty to go unpunished, violating their solemn trusts under the laws of the land, nearly compels us to believe that this is not an isolated case, and must be followed by a throng. When some two or three years since it began to be prophesied by a few that an attempt would be made to reopen the slave trade, and that by the next Presidential election it would be a prominent topic of discussion and perhaps a plank in the platform of one of the political parties, it was regarded by most as a silly prophesy, and the men who uttered the prediction were held up to derision as fanatical alarmists. Already the facts are that vessels engaged in the slave trade have been captured, other vessels equipped for the trade have been seized by the United States Marshals, and these are enough to show that many more have escaped detection and successfully prosecuted their voyages. The most reliable evidence we have in the case is in effect that at least upwards of twenty slave-ships have safely landed their cargoes on the coast of the Southern states during a few months past. Distinguished political men of the country, not of anti-slavery sentiments, freely admit this. *The Richmond* (Texas) *Reporter*, of late date, contains the following advertisement:

"FOR SALE—Four hundred likely AFRICAN NEGROES, lately landed upon the coast of Texas. Said negroes will be sold upon the most reasonable terms. One-third down; the remainder in one and two years, with 8 per cent. interest. For further information inquire of C. K. C., Houston, or L. R. G., Galveston."

This advertisement shows a fact in the trade itself, and being so openly published becomes only an evident index of many similar cases. It is proved that the ship "Wanderer" brought her cargo of slaves directly from Africa, and landed it

in Georgia. A late number of the *Memphis Avalanche*, a southern newspaper, has the following:

"Three of the six native Africans brought here a few days since, were sold yesterday at the mart of Mr. West, and brought respectively, $750, $740, and $515. The latter sum was paid for a boy about fifteen years old, who seemed to possess more intelligence than any of the others. These negroes are a part of the cargo of the yacht Wanderer, landed some months since."

According to the most recent information, cargoes of slaves are now frequently being landed along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. New Orleans papers announce the sailing of vessels for Africa, and contain accounts of the latest arrivals of Congo negroes. Advertisements offer three hundred dollars a head for every thousand negroes from Africa landed on the southern coast of the United States. An eminent and long tried missionary of the American Board affirms that there cannot be less than one hundred American vessels now on the African coast waiting to be freighted with slaves, and that at least sixty or seventy of these are destined for the American shores. Other missionaries now on the western coast of Africa write to their friends in this country that the slave trade there has greatly increased during the last twelve months. Rev. Messrs. Bushnell and Walker of the Gaboon mission agree in the statement that all the missionaries on the coast of Africa from the whole Christian world are not equal in number to the slave ships from the port of New York alone that yearly visit that coast for slaves. One city furnishes more slave ships for Africa than all Christendom does missionaries! These men say that they have seen and conversed with citizens of the United States in the Gaboon country who openly stated that their business there was to prosecute the slave trade.

But the state of public sentiment at the south is still more ominous of evil than all the facts and testimonies concerning the present existence of the slave traffic between Africa and the United States. This species of commerce is at the present moment, and has been for months, gaining favor at the south. Many of the most enthusiastic and energetic men and politi-

cians there are its friends. Many of these intend to secure the full resumption of the slave trade, either by the acquiescence of our country in the violation of the laws against it, or by the abolition of those laws. It is to be made, and is now made, a political question at the South. Candidates for high offices are to be tested as to their slave orthodoxy on this subject. They must in some way favor this commerce, now deemed so essential to the highest prosperity of a large part of the Southern states, or receive the opposition of the most determined and fearless politicians of the whole South. There is no probability that they would long be satisfied with the quiet permission to prosecute the trade while a statute existed against them. Why should not those who have a Dred Scott decision obtain also the voice of the Supreme Court of the United States pronouncing the prohibition of the slave trade by our national laws unconstitutional? Our readers are aware that there is now in full operation at the South an "African Labor-supply Association," of which the Hon. J. B. D. De Bow is president. Mr. DeBow openly declares that one object of the Association is to effect, at the earliest possible moment, the abolition of the national laws prohibiting the slave trade.

The Hon. W. L. Yancey, writing for the press from Montgomery, Alabama, after some introductory remarks, says:

"Further reflection has but confirmed me in the opinion then expressed, that the Federal laws prohibiting the African slave trade, and punishing it as piracy, are unconstitutional, and are at war with the fundamental policy of the South, and, therefore, ought to be repealed.

"I am further satisfied that the agitation of this question is beneficial. It has already served to develop (not to create) much unsoundness in our midst upon the question of slavery; and one of the advantages of discussion would be to correct these erroneous views, and to warn our people of those among us who are radically unsound upon the principles which underlie that institution. It is wisdom to ascertain wherein we are weak, that we may fortify our position upon that point, and use extra vigilance.

"Until within the last twenty-five or thirty years, there had prevailed an unbroken calm in the South upon the moral aspect of the slavery question. Taking its rise in the wild and reckless radicalism of the Red Republican French school, the opinion had rooted itself in Virginia, and thence had spread over the whole South—and was taught in its religion—that slavery was morally wrong, was

founded in kidnapping, and conducted in cruelty; and it was defended solely upon the ground that it was impracticable to get rid of it. It was in the midst of this unhealthy state of the public mind that the Federal laws, declaring the African slave trade to be piracy, were enacted. . . . . .

"For one, I am unwilling to see continued on the statute book the semi-abolition laws—but desire to see the subject of slavery taken from the grasp of the General Government—and that Government only be allowed to act upon it to protect it.

"Whether the African slave-trade shall be carried on should not depend on that Government, but upon the will of each slave-holding state. To that tribunal alone should the question be submitted: and by the decision of that tribunal alone should the Southern people abide."

"Yours, respectfully, W. L. YANCEY."

Notice the distinct avowal that the "Federal laws prohibiting the African slave trade are unconstitutional," "at war with the fundamental policy of the South;" "that the subject of slavery and the slave trade should be taken from the grasp of the General Government—the Government be allowed only to protect it," and that "the slave trade should depend solely on the will of each slave-holding state."

The Hon. Jefferson Davis, the most polished, able, and influential man at the South, in his late address at Jackson, Miss., uttered the following: "If considerations of public safety or interest warranted the termination of the [slave] trade, they could not justify the Government in branding as infamous the source from which the chief part of our laboring population was derived. It is this feature of the law which makes it offensive to us, and stimulates us to strive for its repeal." He is sensitive under the existence of our treaty with Great Britain, by which we are obligated to keep a squadron on the African coast for the suppression of the slave trade. Relative to this he says: "My friend, Senator Clay of Alabama, (his services entitle him to the friendship of the South,) as Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, instituted, at the last session of Congress, an inquiry into the facts connected with the maintenance of our squadron on the coast of Africa, and I hope his energy and ability may lead to the amendment of a treaty which has been productive only of evil." Who does not see that when that squadron is with-

drawn all Federal laws against the African slave trade are abrogated or dead! Mr. Davis agrees with Mr. Yancey that he "would much prefer to leave the subject of the importation of African slaves to the states respectively," which of course would be the fullest reopening of the slave trade. He thinks that there will be no need of importing slaves from Africa into Mississippi; but for such a sentiment, "Let no one, however," he says, "suppose that this indicates any coincidence of opinion with those who prate of the inhumanity and sinfulness of the trade." . . . . . "This conclusion in relation to Mississippi, is based upon my view of her present condition, not upon any general theory. For instance, it is not supposed to be applicable to Texas, to New Mexico, or to any future acquisitions to be made south of the Rio Grande. All of these countries, which can only be developed by slave labor in some of its forms, and which, with a sufficient supply of African slaves, would be made tributary to the great mission of the United States to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to establish peace and free trade with all mankind." Mr. Davis's conceptions of the augmentation of the slave trade are rather large, when he calmly figures for a supply of slaves from that source enough to fill up all the states that are yet to be carved out from Texas and New Mexico, and the "*future acquisitions to be made south of the Rio Grande.*" Truly, the American squadron on the coast of Africa will have to be withdrawn! Mr. Davis is very gentlemanly belligerent against that feature of the national law prohibiting the slave trade which declares it to be piracy. But he very well knows that the slave trade is a system of robbery practised on the bodies and souls of an unoffending people, which results directly in the death of many of their number, and therefore should be *regarded* as piracy. On an American slaver recently captured, *one hundred and forty* died and were thrown overboard during the voyage from the coast of Africa to Cuba. He also well knows that after long years of experiment and discussion in Congress and out, it was finally the almost unanimous conclusion of Congress and the country, that the slave trade was so strongly intrenched in

human selfishness that it could never be destroyed without the penalty of piracy. And to-day millions mourn, and millions rejoice, that even this penalty is not enough for its object.

But while Messrs. De Bow, Yancey and Davis do not openly advocate prosecuting the slave trade in defiance of law, we very well know what some of their satellites will do. The law adjudged unconstitutional, very many in the south will by no means wait for another Dred Scott decision to be pronounced. Accordingly we have such examples as this. Mr. L. W. Spratt of Charleston, in an address at a recent reception given him in Savannah, spoke as follows:

"But it is said we may not stoop to a measure forbidden by the law. It is not for us, so vested with the trusts of a great destiny, *to scruple at the necessary means to its attainment. Situated as we are, we cannot abrogate the law;* and must we then forego our destiny for want of the *legal means* to its achievement."

The audience that heard this, we are told, was "enthusiastic," "large and appreciative." The whole address was pronounced "replete with an elevated tone of truth and logic." Who can doubt that such heroes are already enjoying the profits of the slave trade, and live in expectation of still further advantage!

Let no one suppose that this opposition to the existing laws against the slave trade is confined to a few individuals. The *Savannah* (Ga.) *News* publishes the proceedings of a meeting of "a large and respectable portion of the citizens of Ware and the adjoining counties, assembled in the court house in Waresboro', on the evening of the 21st of September, to hear Colonel William B. Gaulden deliver an address on the reopening of the African slave trade." At the conclusion of his speech he offered the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted by the meeting:

"In consequence of the high price of labor the agricultural interests of the South are in a languishing condition.

"*Therefore, resolved*, That in order to obtain the requisite supply, all laws, State and Federal, forbidding the slave trade, ought to be repealed."

The *Sea Coast Democrat*, Miss., learns from "good authori-

ty," "that a cargo of African slaves is expected in the ship *Island Harbor* the latter part of the present month. They will, if they arrive safe, be landed without any attempt at secrecy; the consignees trusting to the sentiment predominant in Mississippi as to the necessity of increasing the number of laborers for a triumphant acquittal, in the event of a government prosecution."

The *Southern Citizen*, a leading paper in the interests of the slaveholders at the South, and representing the sentiments of a large portion of the people there, indulges in the following. We copy it both as an indication of Southern sentiment on this subject, and by way of helping the New York Tract Society to a polished mirror into which they would do well to look. The *Citizen* says:

"The Tract Society in New York, as we have already recorded, being wholesomely mindful of the profits of Southern trade, lately refused to embody in the scheme of its publications a system of tracts against slavery, or even against the African slave trade. Not that the members approve of the institution or of the trade—not that they feel anything less than righteous abhorrence for Southern life and conversation and man's property in man, and 'traffic in human flesh,' etc. etc.; but only that they consider it politic (*they*, a Christian society, instituted for the promotion of religion and virtue) to let that particular class of sins go unscathed—to rail furiously against all sorts of sins except only that sin; for in fact that sin pays. Now we wish Southern readers to fully appreciate the value of this forbearance. Even those journals in the North which approved the action (or non-action) of the Tract Society, took care to let us know that it was not because any member of that Society North approved of slavery or the slave trade."

Ex-Governor Adams, of South Carolina, in a letter read on the occasion of a dinner given to Senator Chesnut, lays down the three following propositions as "undeniable truths:

"First, that the acts of Congress against the slave trade are a brand upon us, and ought to be repealed. Second, that if slavery is right, the traffic in slaves ought not to be confined by degrees of latitude and longitude. And third, that if it is right to hold in servitude the slaves we now have, it is right to procure as many more as our necessities require."

We have deemed it best to give thus much evidence concerning the slave trade party at the South, in order to show

that it is by no means insignificant, and that it has already assumed a formidable bearing, being most fully determined to make this a political question and to try their strength in the legislative, judicial and even executive departments of the government. When this party shall need a demonstration of strength at the North it will have it. They have hitherto never failed to find as many friends as they have needed in the Northern states. Witness the Fugitive Slave Law, the Nebraska Act and the Kansas history. This party at the South is on the increase, and the increase is well accounted for. On Southern ground they have by far the best of the argument. Indeed, with the general Southern principles there is no possibility of standing against them. For, admit the right of one man to hold another as a slave, and you cannot successfully deny the right of traffic in slaves. The right of property implies the right of sale and purchase.

And further, if the right of traffic in this species of property exists among the citizens of a state, and among the various slave states, then who can tell how it is that it is justly esteemed piracy when the trade is simply changed so as to be between citizens of America and citizens or hunters in Africa?

Mr. McRae, a Mississippian, says, "I am in favor of reopening the trade in slaves with Africa. I see no difference, morally, socially, or politically, in buying a slave in Africa, the original source of our supply, and buying one in the home-market of our slave-holding states." This man is logical and consistent.

As to any right to slaves born in America essentially different from that to those born in Africa it does not exist. The *first* right to slaves is founded in robbery, and all other rights are necessarily traceable to the same. If a horse is stolen its progeny cannot lawfully be owned by the thief, or by any one who purchases or inherits the thief's right, though he be a thousand persons removed from the original robber. The system of slavery—the holding of a fellow man as property—is a system of robbery. Masters who are really slaveholders, in this sense, in heart, are every hour guilty of robbing parents of their children, and parents and children of

themselves. Whoso justifies real slavery may in perfect consistency justify the slave traffic—nay, he is very *inconsistent* if he does not justify it, and whoso justifies that in America, or anywhere, may consistently justify the resumption of the slave trade between Africa and America. Hence it is that on Southern principles the slave trade party have all the advantage of argument and are rapidly gaining ground. No pro-slavery men can stand against them. He who attempts it will destroy himself. And all who oppose the slave trade have a further business, or they drive themselves backward. They must oppose slavery itself.

But it may be that we have some readers who doubt whether the slave trade is actually wrong, and a gross abomination, if properly conducted; that is, on the principles of the highest humanity consistent with the trade itself.

The African slave trade, then, consists in going with vessels to the African coast, and there, or in the interior, purchasing or stealing men, women and children, binding them in fetters, stowing them away in secure holds of the ship, and then sailing to a port of some slave land, and disposing of the victims as commodities or property in the market. The slaves are gathered from various sources in their native land, and disposed of, not as colonists in some one locality, but by being scattered abroad at the will of their purchasers in the slave land to which they are brought. They are not persuaded voluntarily to leave their original homes as emigrants for a foreign clime, with the bright pictures of a sunny land and of golden gains or comforts before them; they are taken away by compulsion, at the option of the conqueror or purchaser, and borne away to involuntary servitude in the strange country of their enemies. Their toils there are not with the hope of enjoying the comforts and gains of their industry and labor; nothing is before them but to serve a master for his profit, and at his caprice or will. The day of their deliverance from bondage will be the day of their death.

But is it in human beings, even the most lost and degraded, to desire such a heritage? Do the native Africans run to the

embrace of slave traders, and crowd their vessels for America or other slave marts? Whom do they esteem as nearest to loving them as himself,—the slave trader, or the missionary? It is notorious that in the full tide of the traffic, the hundreds or thousands of petty tribes in Western Africa are engaged to a wide extent in warfare with each other to supply the material of the slave trade. With slave traders visiting their coast, and creating a vastly greater demand for slaves than exists there for any other articles of commerce, the cupidity of the native tribes, especially of the chiefs, suffers high excitement, and the demand is met. There is no other way to accomplish it but by kidnapping or warfare. None are found ready to volunteer to be sold for the market in far off slave lands. Parents there will not sell their children into slavery, and the trade cannot depend on that mode for victims. Dr. Livingstone says that he has "never known in Africa an instance of a parent selling his own offspring." But he and other travelers and missionaries in that country tell us of *numerous* instances where warfare was originated and carried forward with the sole object of obtaining slaves for the home or foreign market; chiefly for the latter. The most of their warfare is solely for this object. "The wars," says Dr. Livingstone, "in the center of the country, where no slave trade existed, have seldom been about anything else but cattle. I have heard of but one war having occurred from another cause." Speaking of the half-caste slave-dealers, he says, "The usual course which the slave traders adopt is to take a part in the political affairs of each tribe, and, siding with the strongest, get well paid by captures made from the weaker party." In another place, speaking of the trade, carried on by some of the natives, of slaves for "old guns," he says of the slaves, "These are not their own children, but captives of the black races they had conquered." The wars for this purpose extend more or less for thousands of miles along the western coast and far into the interior. Sometimes those having slaves for sale drive them in chain-gangs to the market; but generally, the slave traders resident there, travel into the country, visiting the various tribes in their reach, and purchase the war-cap-

tives, and often the members of tribes whose chiefs have devoted them, on some pretext, to slavery. Dr. Livingstone, in speaking of one chief, who may stand as the representative of many, says: "I suspect that offenses of the slightest character, among the poor, are made the pretext for selling them or their children to the Mambari." Again, he mentions this characteristic incident: "Two children of seven or eight years old, went out to collect firewood, a short distance from their parents' home, which was a quarter of a mile from the village, and were kidnapped; the distracted parents could find no trace of them." Another of his descriptive sentences is: "The frequent kidnapping from outlying hamlets explains the stockades we saw around them; the parents have no redress." The kidnappers "can sell them [the stolen children] by night." Describing another tribe, he says, "The demand for domestic servants must be met by forays on tribes which have good supplies of cattle;" the cattle being afterward exchanged for slaves. In mentioning the fact that a Bechuana chief would not sell any of his people, nor a Bechuana man his child, he says, "Hence the necessity for a foray to seize children."

If we turn now to the testimony of Mr. Barth, given in his "Discoveries in North and Central Africa," we shall find a substantial agreement with that of Dr. Livingstone. The only difference relates to the difference in circumstances and tribes in the two sections of the continent visited. A single sentence of his is indicative on this point. "In the regions of Central Africa there exists not one and the same stock, as in South Africa, but the greatest diversity of tribes, or rather, nations, prevails, with idioms entirely distinct." It appears that while Dr. Livingstone found but limited evidence of slave hunting, and warfare for slaves, except for the foreign slave trade, Mr. Barth found more for the home trade and domestic slavery, although a great amount for the foreign trade also. The testimony of such an able and learned man, and observing and skillful traveler, who ventured into and explored regions hitherto untrodden by civilized man, must be regarded by all candid persons as of very great weight on this subject. Some of our readers may need the statement that Mr. Barth

went out to Africa as the companion of Mr. Richardson, who was sent upon that expedition by the British government. Mr. Barth is a German, and previous to this expedition was a lecturer at the University at Berlin. He states in the preface to his first volume, that "One of the principal objects which Her Britannic Majesty's government had always in view in these African expeditions, was, the abolition of the slave trade;" that "this was zealously advocated by Mr. Richardson, and, he trusts, was zealously carried out by himself when ever it was in his power to do so." But Mr. Richardson early came to his death. This greatly frustrated the plans of the expedition; and Mr. Barth says, that in his further prosecution of the undertaking, although it was his endeavor to do all in his power for the abolition of the slave trade, yet, after mature reflection, "he was induced to place himself under the protection of an expeditionary army, whose object it was to subdue another tribe, and eventually to carry away a large proportion of the conquered into slavery." Speaking of the objects of his mission relative to the slave trade, and of his accompanying this warring, slave hunting expedition, he says: "Hence, it was necessary that I should become acquainted with the real state of these most important features of African society, in order to speak clearly about them; for, with what authority could I expatiate on the horrors and the destruction accompanying such an expedition, if I were not speaking as an eye witness?"—Vol. i, p. 13. We select a few passages from his work, which give his opinion and the result of his investigations in no unmeaning language. In a passage on some diversities between Central and South Africa, he says of the former: "The great and momentous struggle between Islamism and Paganism is here continually going on, causing every day the most painful and affecting results; *while the miseries arising from slavery and the slave trade are here revealed in their most repulsive features.*"—Vol. i, p. 16. "In estimating, therefore, the miseries of these slave hunts, we ought not only to take into account the prisoners led into slavery, and the full grown men who are slaughtered, but also the famine and distress consequent upon

these expeditions."—Vol. ii, p. 394. "There can be no doubt that the most horrible topic connected with slavery is slave hunting." In an account of one of his interviews with the vizier of Bornu, he gives the following: "From this point of our discourse, there was an easy transition to that of the abolition of slavery; and here my late lamented friend, Mr. Overweg, [one of his companions,] made a most eloquent speech on this important question. The vizier could not bring forward any other argument in his defense, than that the slave trade furnished them with the means of buying muskets; and, lamentable as it is, this is certainly the correct view of the subject; for even on the west coast, the slave trade originated in the cupidity of the natives, in purchasing the arms of Europeans. Such is the history of civilization! If the poor natives of Africa had never become acquainted with this destructive implement of European ingenuity, the slave trade would never have reached those gigantic proportions which it has attained; for, at first, the natives of Africa wanted fire-arms, as the surest means of securing their independence of, and superiority over, their neighbors; but in the further course of affairs, these instruments of destruction became necessary, because they enabled them to hunt down less favored tribes, and, with a supply of slaves so obtained, to procure for themselves those luxuries of European civilization with which they had likewise become acquainted. This is the great debt which the European owes to the African,—that after having caused, or at least increased this nefarious system, on his first bringing the natives of those regions into contact with his state of civilization, which has had scarcely any but a demoralizing effect, he ought now also to make them acquainted with the beneficial effects of that state of society. Entering therefore into the views of our hosts, I told them that their country produced many other things which they might exchange for fire-arms, without being forced to lay waste the whole of the neighboring countries, and to bring misery and distress on so many thousands."—Vol. ii, pp. 326–7.

Messrs. Barth and Livingstone speak of cruelties which have come under their observation in bleeding Africa the last few

years. But it should be remembered that the slave traffic from Africa to other countries, for about half a century past, has been under such check as to be comparatively suppressed. If you compare the testimony of these travelers with that given before the British parliament, in the day of the great discussion there, in regard to the foreign slave trade, you will find, that though a great evil still, while carried on stealthily and against the law of the most civilized nations, yet its cruelties bear but a slight comparison with the horrors of the slave traffic at its full hight, when it was pecuniarily the most profitable commerce of several of the leading nations of the globe. And in considering the question of the reopening of the slave trade in this country, we need in fairness to ask, what was the slave trade, before being put under the ban of national law? Some of the items of its wickedness were as follows:

Going back to the first step of the traffic, we find that enormous iniquities were committed *by the native Africans upon each other*, in order to procure slaves for the traders who came from European and American lands. It was then often the case, that villages would go out against each other in strife, and after the conflict the victors would sell the conquered to the slave traders, and thus whole towns would be broken up. Companies of men would often go out and lie in wait near populous villages, and as the inhabitants came straggling out on various errands, would seize and bear them away to the slave ships.

There were four different modes of procuring slaves: by the grand pillage, the lesser pillage, by kidnapping individuals, or obtaining them in consequence of crimes they had committed. The grand pillage was this. A body of a king's soldiers, from three hundred to three thousand, would attack and set fire to some village, and then seize the inhabitants as best they could. The lesser pillage was when a smaller number of soldiers would lie in wait about a town, and seize individuals, or small companies, as they issued. Private individuals, not the king's soldiers, engaged in this mode of kidnapping. Captain Wilson said that slaves were either procured by intes-

time wars, or kings breaking up villages, or crime, real or imputed, or kidnapping. Free persons were often seized for some pretended or real crime, and after the form of trial, which might be only mockery, were sold to the traders, and the money pocketed by those who arrested and judged them. It is declared to have been no uncommon thing to impute crime falsely, for the sake of selling the persons so accused. All sorts of stratagems and deceit were employed to decoy and seize the unwary, to sell them in the slave market. Children were often found among the slaves that had been brought down to the coast for sale, who had been kidnapped hundreds of miles away in the interior, and whose parents never knew their fate, except that they supposed them stolen away for the slave mart. Harmless women, wives and mothers, were often among the captives, stolen and forced away from their families, with no opportunity to utter one farewell to companions and children. The natives were often deceived into voluntary service, under the promise of good pay, and then seized and sold to the slave traders. The marauding parties generally went out at night, and were armed with bows and arrows, guns, pistols, sabres, and long lances. In some parts, the chiefs of tribes were accustomed to use the most degrading and disgusting means, to seduce persons into the crime of adultery, for the purpose of then arresting them, and selling them as slaves, or causing them each to pay the price of a slave. Another mode of decoy was, by placing fetiches,—pieces of wood, of old pitchers, kettles, and the like,—things to which superstition required attention,—by placing these in paths and other frequented spots, where through accident they might be touched or slightly moved, which was regarded as a crime. Then for this crime, the offender was obliged to pay the price of a slave, or, if unable, as generally with the natives, to be sold to the slave traders. Indeed, all the arts worthy of the fiends of hell were practiced by the Africans upon each other, to satiate the craving maw of the slave trade. Warfare of every kind came to be so much carried on in Africa, for the purpose of obtaining victims for the slave ship, that the very word signifying war, in the African language, came to mean

nothing more, in general, than the system of marauding for the purpose of getting slaves. All these and other iniquities practiced by the natives upon each other, might well be expected, when the lawfulness of the slave trade is declared, or its practice allowed.

But again, this enormous wickedness was not shared by the natives alone. The Americans and Europeans engaged in the slave trade, whether there upon the ground, or luxuriously enjoying its fruits at home, had the greater sin. The traders visiting Africa held out inducements to the natives to practice all these abominations to procure slaves. Nearly all the valuables that the natives could obtain came through the traders in exchange for slaves. No trade for the legitimate articles of commerce in the country was encouraged, or scarcely thought of. The slave trade was the great source of profit. Every kind of industry and vice was devoted to this. The foreign traders offered incitements to the natives, and whetted their appetites for gain by setting a bounty on their seizing and enslaving their brethren. When war existed between England and France, and the ships of those nations were temporarily drawn off from the slave trade, then slaves were not taken, and internal wars among the natives ceased in the parts which the traders of those nations formerly visited, showing that the responsibility of the slave trade was chiefly with the traders and those sustaining them. It was customary for traders to bribe one tribe to attack and seize another, to furnish them slaves. Arms and ammunition were often put into their hands to make their marauding successful. They often advanced goods to the chiefs, to stimulate them to such wholesale robbery and warfare. And when Americans or Europeans of confessed superior intelligence to the Africans, thus encouraged and hurried them on to such bloody cruelties, the *moral* effect upon the natives, as well as physical, was truly horrible. Some of the traders went so far as to make the natives *drunk*, and when in that condition, to purchase choice slaves of them, and even to buy their wives, whom they would not have sold if sober, and whom they afterward sought in vain to redeem. Traders sometimes supplied two opposing kings, at war with each other, with arms

and military stores, to procure slaves, thus making the strife more extensive and profitable for their object. The European traders themselves would embrace opportunities to kidnap persons and make them slaves, and sometimes would entice free natives on board their ships, and then set sail before they could get upon land, and carrying the deceived and entrapped people to foreign ports, sell them into slavery. Such attempts to kidnap free persons sometimes led to resentment on the part of the natives, which the traders punished by adding the cruelties of bloodshed to all the rest.

Another view of these iniquities is obtained by considering the sufferings to which the slave traffic subjected its victims. It was in testimony by Dr. Trotter, before the British parliament, as follows: "On being brought on board, they show some signs of extreme distress or despair, from a feeling of their situation, and regret at being torn from their friends and connections; many retain those impressions for a long time; in proof of which, the slaves on board his ship being often heard in the night making a howling, melancholy noise, expressive of extreme anguish, he repeatedly ordered the woman who had been his interpreter, to inquire into the cause. She discovered it to be owing to their having dreamed they *were in their own country again*, and finding themselves, when awake, *in the hold of a slave ship*. This exquisite sensibility was particularly observable among the *women*, many of whom, on such occasions, he found in hysteric fits." This evidence was confirmed by other commanders of slave ships. Instances were known where, in their anguish, they even committed suicide.

On board the ships the men were linked two and two together, by the hands and feet, and thus kept until they arrived at the port of destination. During the day, from about nine A. M. to four P. M., they were usually allowed to be on deck, and for their further security, the shackles of each pair were fastened to a ring-bolt attached to the deck. The remaining part of the time they were kept in narrow, filthy, and ill-ventilated apartments below, where they were obliged to lie down nearly as closely as possible, and where numbers of them

died. They were fed two coarse and scanty meals a day, and allowed each one pint of water to drink. While on deck for exercise they were obliged to jump or dance. If unwilling, they were whipped until they would. They were also compelled to sing. But their songs were those of sorrow, bemoaning their wretched condition, and wailing that they should never return to their homes. Some of them, in good health on going to the hold of the ship at night, were found dead in the morning. Sometimes of two chained together, one would be found in the morning dead, while the other was living. Some of them would refuse food, with the design of starving themselves to death. Dr. Trotter testifies of one man, who, out of revenge, had been charged with witchcraft, and sold with his family, that he attempted to cut his throat. The Doctor sewed up the wounds. At night the man pulled out the threads, and made further attempts to tear open the wound with his finger-nails. He died in a few days, of starvation. Some slaves would throw themselves overboard, with the idea that they should be able to get back to their native country, or intending to perish. A missionary informs us of a recent case of this kind, on the African coast, where numbers were drowned. Sometimes insurrections arose among them, and on being inquired of as to the reason, they would reply, "What business have you to carry us from our country? We have wives and children, with whom we want to be." The number of deaths of slaves on board the ships was sometimes one fifth the whole number, sometimes one half. "Their sickness was caused in part by their crowded condition, but mostly by grief for being carried away from their country and friends." It has been contended that this mortality might be avoided, by more commodious apartments on the voyage, but all that can never heal the broken heart of its sorrow, which often of itself produces disease. The slave trade must of necessity, by its nature, be a deadly business.

We might consider the cruelties of the slave trade, in its effects upon the slaves, after they are bought and sold in a slave land. Seldom having been born and bred slaves, the spirit of freedom in them is not broken. They have a deep

sense of the injustice they bear. They are not accustomed to slave *labor*. They are in a strange land. Compulsion is the great resort of the slave driver. Slavery knows no persuasion. Accordingly, the testimony before the British Parliament showed that the sufferings of such slaves are very great.

We might profitably consider the sad effects of the slave traffic on the seamen, and all engaged in it. It is an attested fact, that it is a very unhealthy and fatal employment for seamen; that large numbers of them soon perish. The diseases of the slaves carry diseases to them.

But its effects upon the morals of the seamen are far more deplorable. First, it makes cruel tyrants in general of the officers of the ships, and this results in great cruelties to the seamen. Then the seamen themselves grow vicious, stone-hearted, barbarous, and cruel, excepting in some cases where they have been forced into the service,—being first made drunk, then brought into debt, and then obliged to sail in a slaver, or suffer imprisonment for the debt. Whoever reads the life of the Rev. John Newton, once a sailor, and in the slave trade, cannot fail to be impressed with the callousing, barbarous effects of the slave traffic upon him. No instrumentality, it would seem, could have saved him, but the covenant prayers and instructions of his godly mother, who died before he was four years of age.

But it is time to inquire after the "*sublime missionary movement*" of the slave trade. In Dr. Stiles's "Modern Reform Examined," we have the following: "The obligation of fraternal coöperation on the part of the North, is suggested by the very nature of that *grand missionary plan* inaugurated by an overruling Providence in connection with the introduction of Africans into the South."—p. 8. The italicising is his; he therefore means something emphatic. "Make the most natural record of this transaction from the beginning, and the simple history is neither more nor less than a lucid plan, a statement of the successive steps, peradventure of the most philosophical and sublime missionary movement under heaven."—p. 185. "The *second* historical fact records their *trans-*

portation from Africa. What does this accomplish? A most important and primary part of the work of their evangelization."—pp. 185, 186. "The *fourth* historical fact incorporates them into our population in the relation of *slaves* to masters. And what a speaking movement is this?"—p. 186. Dr. Stiles also quotes, p. 310, from a letter of Rev. E. J. Pierce, of the Gaboon Mission, published in the New York Observer, February, 1856, as follows:

"I think at times, my companion [Rev. J. Best] and myself are ready to exclaim: *Would that all Africa were at the South.* Would that villages and tribes of these poor people could be induced to emigrate to our Southern country, and be placed under the influences *which the slaves enjoy.* My brother thinks that *he would rather run the risk of a good or bad master, and be a slave at the South,* than to be as one of these heathen people. He refers, when he thus speaks, both to his *temporal* and eternal welfare."

This letter was written as a congratulation and help for the book entitled "The South-side View of Slavery."

It should be noticed that Dr. Stiles and Missionary Pierce do not exactly agree. The Missionary does not quite go in for the slave trade as one step in the "grand missionary plan." Not he! He has seen too much of it! He only wishes that "these poor people could be *induced* to emigrate to our Southern country, and be placed under the influences *which the slaves enjoy.*" He is, alas, so recreant to the "divine institution" that he does not even wish that "these poor people" might be *slaves.* He only wants them to be under the (good?) "influences which the slaves enjoy." *This* Missionary's testimony can hardly be adduced in favor of the slave trade as one "*fact*" of the "sublime missionary movement." But his "companion," it may be, goes a little further. He "*thinks* that he would sooner run the risk of a good or bad master, and be a slave at the South, than to be as one of these heathen people." Yet *he, too,* keeps clear of the *slave trade* as a "fact" of the "sublime missionary movement." He only "*thinks*" that he might prefer to be a slave and run his risk as to the kind of a master, rather than be one of the lowest, most degraded, most heathenish of all God's rational creatures he has yet become acquainted with. Grave in-

sinuations! Heterodoxy on slavery! Missionary Best, if he yet lives, and ever comes to America again, had better keep out of the South, or else expurgate Dr. Stiles's book. He should know that in that part of the country it is deemed highly fanatical and incendiary to insinuate that slavery, even the worst of it, is not *infinitely* better than African heathenism. Really, we begin to have a brotherly feeling for Missionary Best. He reminds us of Paul, "If thou mayest be free, use it rather." It is well for Dr. Stiles's book that he put that missionary letter at the very end. Few at the South probably have ever read up to it.

But now as to Dr. Stiles's "grand missionary plan," "peradventure the most philosophical and sublime missionary movement under heaven." He either means something by it, or nothing. We assume it is the former. If so, then he means that the African slave trade, by bringing the ancestors of the present four millions of slaves of this country to this continent, was one part of a grand missionary movement for the salvation of themselves and their race. And he also means that their being made and kept slaves here, is another part of that plan. Indeed, he says, "The *second* historical fact (of the successive steps) records their *transportation* from Africa." He uses a very unassuming, mild term for the slave trade, "*transportation*," but we see what he means. And again, he says, "The *fourth* historical fact incorporates them into our population in the relation of *slaves* to masters." We wonder he should italicise "slaves," and further, that he did not use the milder and equivocal word "servants," in stead. However, Dr. Stiles means to be honest, though deceived.

The *fourth* fact, their being made *slaves*, we cannot directly discuss. We have now to do with the *second*, their "*transportation*,"—the African slave trade. This slave commerce between Africa and the United States and Territories, is one department, we should say the *Foreign* department, of "the grand missionary plan." We suppose Dr. Stiles means that this was *God's* "missionary plan," not man's. For he calls it a "stupendous scheme of Providence!" And exclaims concerning it, p, 192,

"How all things have been sacrificed to this; all things made tributary to this! For the salvation of men how willing God was to employ the cruel wrath of human covetousness to inaugurate the great movement."

Now, when we speak of the origin of the American Board, or of Foreign Missions in this country or in England, or of Home Missions, and refer the plan to human agency as of noble and grand "intent and execution," we mean that the plan, movement and means were adopted as methods and instrumentalities well adapted to their end, and worthy to be chosen for that object. Does Dr. Stiles also mean that in this "stupendous scheme of Providence" the Lord chose the African slave trade, and slavery, as worthy instrumentalities for carrying forward His plan of salvation? And does he give glory to God for His wisdom and preference of so excellent means as the slave trade and slavery, to save Africa? Then let him be consistent and give some honor to *men* too for choosing the same, and for now practicing them, provided only that they seem to be guided by a purpose in sympathy with Africa's salvation. Let him condemn *no one* for having ever engaged in slavery or the slave trade, not even a single soul of all the slave pirates of the last century who sold their cargoes in America, not even Ghezo, the monster savage slave-king of Dahomey, for he sold his slaves to traders from Christian slave countries; let him blame no one of them all except for failure to have as good a motive as they ought,—and only for that failure.

Dr. Stiles calls upon us "to ponder this stupendous scheme of Providence," the divine election of the slave trade and slavery, "the second," and "the fourth" "historical facts" "of the successive steps" "peradventure of the most philosophical and sublime missionary movement under heaven." But if you praise God for the choice of slavery and the slave trade, do not blame *men* for the same choice; only blame them because they are wanting in good motives, no matter what their iniquities. If only they have a *motive* to do good by doing evil that good may come, praise them. Praise men for all the pious frauds they have committed under heaven! Praise the Romish Church for all her assumptions of divine preroga-

tives, for her oppressions, her persecutions, her murders of heretics; unless, indeed, it can be shown that she has not deceived herself, in all these abominations, into the persuasion that she was doing God service.

But these conclusions are too much even for Dr. Stiles. Though he calls on us "to study out this bold missionary movement of heaven upon earth," this selection of the slave trade and slavery for "that spiritual achievement, the religious good of the heathen," yet, when he comes to the case of *man*, he shrinks from the legitimate deductions of his own philosophy. He does, after all, denominate slavery and the slave trade as "*man's wickedness;*" he does speak of "*man's outrageous cruelty in making slaves;* (Is not that incendiarism?) he does say that "against the original institution of slavery, violence could not be too decided," and that "in many of its *present* aspects hostility against it is still justifiable." Now, for our own part, we are not going to "ponder a stupendous scheme of Providence" and admire it, and praise its Author, when the same thing in man we call "wickedness," and pronounce it "outrageous cruelty." We hope we have another way to worship and honor God. And what is "wickedness" and "outrageous cruelty" in man, we are not going to entitle "historical facts" "of the successive steps peradventure of the most philosophical and sublime missionary movement under heaven." When we do that, we will raise a pæan of glory to Judas for his *higher* "sublime missionary movement" in helping forward the tragedy of the cross, though we detract somewhat from his praise, on account of a defect in his motives. Why does not Dr. Stiles call on us "to ponder the stupendous scheme of Providence," "and see that spiritual achievement, the religious good of" mankind, in God's employment of all the hatred, and lies, and murderous intents of the Scribes and Pharisees, resulting finally in the death of His Son—in order to accomplish the Atonement? Does Dr. Stiles preach in that way? It strikes us as going one step further than the Scriptures. We have heard of God's causing the wrath of man to praise him, and restraining the remainder: we have heard of his

doing good despite of evil; but we do not find in the Bible that he has concocted iniquity and set men upon it as a "sublime missionary movement" for their salvation. Christ's atoning death would have been just as dear to us if he had accomplished it by a second, or the first agony in the Garden, rather than while suffering under the traitorous act of Judas, and the murderous hatred of unbelieving Jews. Surely, Dr. Stiles's argument is to no purpose, unless he wishes to treat slavery and the slave trade with leniency and charity because they are "historical facts" of the "sublime missionary movement." But we have no respect or patience with sin for any such reason, nor do we believe God has. He declares that it is that abominable thing which he hates. To close our mouths and refuse to rebuke the guilty supporters of slavery and the slave trade, would be to enter into a conspiracy with those who are responsible for much of "man's outrageous cruelty in making slaves." Will Dr. Stiles ask us to do that? And yet he does, by his course of reasoning.

But will he say that he means, only, that notwithstanding these great iniquities God has given salvation to some of the victims of the slave trade, and to some of their descendants? Why, then, has he not said it, and not set himself to an exaltation of slavery and the slave commerce? In his preaching of the Gospel does he exalt sin and call it a "stupendous scheme of Providence" on account of its potency in affording the opportunity to man to be saved by Christ's Atonement? Poor Angels, then! For what shall they praise God? Does he expend any of his oratorical genius in exalting the oppressions of the Established Church of England which drove the Pilgrims and Puritans to the New England shore? Does he commend to our respect and affection the exorbitant and unnatural demands of the mother country, in consequence of which at length the freedom of the American Colonies was declared and maintained?

But we are not questioning Dr. Stiles alone. He is the representative of a class.

"Mrs. E. J. Tracy, writing to The Memphis Appeal from Holly Springs, Miss., having seen some negroes going to meeting on Sunday, says: 'As with the ra-

pidity of thought I glance from such a scene to benighted Africa, sunk in moral degradation, over whose millions of human souls the darkness of heathenism folds her sombre wings in rayless night, my heart swells with gratitude to the Great Father of all for the institution of American slavery.'"

Then she may thank God for sin, for without sin there would have been no Redeemer from sin. Is it, indeed, better to sin and then by mercy and great sacrifice be saved from it, than never to sin at all, but always be holy as the sinless angels? For which ought she to thank God, for "man's wickedness" and "outrageous cruelty in making slaves," or that God, despite slavery and all sin, has saved some of the African race and will save more? Is it not high insult to God to thank him for that which he affirms on oath that he hates? Men and women should beware! One form of the unpardonable sin may lie in this direction.

"In his work on Slavery, Dr. Smith says: 'The number of Africans who have died in the communion of the Methodist and Baptist Churches to the present time, and who, therefore, we may assume were Christianized by their residence in this country, exceeds the whole number of all the heathen who have been Christianized by the missionary labors of all the Protestant denominations of Christendom since the days of Luther.'"

What if it were true? Which has been the Saviour, slavery, or Jesus Christ? Some men have already made slavery their idol. They are *robbing* God in giving honor and love to it. We have not yet learned whether Dr. Smith has a book on the great benefits accruing from the Devil's fall and Adam's original sin, or on the immensely greater number saved since than before Judas's betrayal of his Master, and the final culmination of Jewish hatred and spite against Christ Jesus! We wonder whether he has made a mathematical calculation of the superior advantages for the salvation of men which have grown out of the persecution of Christians, and the denial of their freedom, which early led to the settlement of this country by many colonies of the true church. Can he tell us how many more are converted in consequence of that iniquity than would have been without it? Does he call us to ponder that oppression as one part of a "stupendous scheme of Providence," and "one of the successive

steps" of a philosophical and sublime missionary movement?" We should like to know whether he has become the disciple of Mohammedanism because it is not so bad as Paganism, or whether he has adopted the Romish Church because more within her pale have been saved (*though despite* all that makes her Romanism) than would have been saved without her existence?

The author of the "South Side" has the following "cheerful view" of the subject: "Such have been the marvelous acts of Divine grace to the Africans, in bringing, through the cupidity and sinfulness of men, to this country, and saving a great multitude of them, that it requires neither strong faith nor fancy to suppose that this work might still go on, in the form of interchange of the blacks between Africa and the Southern States. The South has learned to be, and is fitted to be, the protector and friend of the Africans." ("South Side View of Slavery," p. 118.) Dr. Adams's "South Side" was written some years since, but we suppose his conception of this pleasant "interchange of the blacks between Africa and the Southern States" must be exemplified in a recent case, intelligence of which has just come to hand.

"New York, Dec. 21.—Advices from Liberia, Africa, to latter part of September, report a new and most extraordinary phase of the slave trade. The Rebecca, a Baltimore clipper, commanded by Capt. Carter, arrived there in July last, with forty-two colored emigrants from New Orleans, liberated from the McDonough estate. She was under charter from the Colonization Society, but having landed the free blacks, she moved off to the Southwest coast, and took in a full cargo of slaves, with which freight she is now bound home."

This, then, is the way to operate: set the Colonization Society fully a going, in chartering vessels and carrying to Africa liberated slaves of this country, that have in themselves and their ancestors a long time enjoyed the "protection and friendship of the South," in the fullest play of the chattel principle and all the slave code enactments, and then foment quarrels and wars among the native Africans, help forward the difficulties by grants of whiskey, firearms, &c., buy up all the prisoners and impress on board the slave ships as many other African negroes as possible, and so keep the transportation

ships the most economically employed by carrying liberated slaves one way, to evangelize Africa, and benighted Africans the other way, to receive the "protection and friendship" of the slaveholders and traffickers of our own country. Since learning of this recent transaction, we begin to suspect that Dr. Adams's book is having a wider influence than we had heretofore supposed. We have only one or two doubts in our conception of this "interchange." If hereafter the difficulties of obtaining war prisoners in Africa, to supply the American market, should become great, would it be allowable to rob the American colored emigrants in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and other such places, of their children, and bring them over in the middle passage, to the "protection" of American slavery? And if Africa should ever become fully evangelized, ought the "interchange" still to go on? If not, what would the "languishing" South do to obtain "the requisite supply" of laborers?

But this is not all. We cannot leave this subject without calling attention to slavery, and especially now to the slave trade, *as a "stupendous" barrier in the way of the salvation of Africa and of man.* Had we space we would debate the question, how much slavery in this land has impeded its evangelization since the first cargo was landed in the American colonies. Who needs to be told that an institution which denies the very doctrines that brought this nation, as such, into existence; that gives the lie to the reality of human rights; that proclaims that all men are *not* of one blood, and so takes its stand against Holy Writ; slavery, that breaks up the family relations, and abrogates marital and parental rights; that aids in the prostitution of the pure and virtuous to the most vile purposes; that denies the printed page of the Word of God to four millions of our fellow-men, and shuts them away from the ordinary and their rightful means of human knowledge; slavery, the most high-handed and extensive system of fraud and robbery ever known in a world of sinners for six thousand years, wresting alike from the weak and the strong the hard earnings of honest hands, and by violence, and all the barricaded powers of law, wrenching

away the rights of millions to themselves; who needs to be told that such an institution is a mighty barrier in the way of the Gospel, wherever it is preached or heard, and that the more the supporters of such a "sum of all villanies" profess religion, to a wide extent, the more infidels they make? The kingdom of God can never come until this system of iniquity is dead. True religion cannot foster injustice, nor prosper under it, though it may sometimes exist despite of it. Bartholomew de las Casas, a Spaniard, Bishop of Chiassa, first brought African slavery into America. To save the Indians he much loved from their sufferings and toils in the Spanish mines, he prevailed on his monarch to substitute Africans in their place. This very inception of slavery in America was injustice, and *injustice has been its life from that hour to this.*

The missionaries in Africa testify that the greatest obstacle to the success of the Gospel in that country is the slave trade, and that the existence of slavery, as practiced in this country, conspires with the slave traffic there to hinder their work. Messrs. Bushnell and Walker say, that so much is America joined to the commerce in slaves, in the minds of the natives of Africa, that they look with suspicion and fear upon Americans, as necessarily slave traders. Commander Foote, in connection with comments on the highly beneficial effects of the squadrons of England, France, and the United States, on the African coast, in suppressing the slave trade, remarks: "Missions and the slave trade have an inverse ratio between them as to their progress. When the one dwindles, the other grows."—p. 216.

Rev. Dr. Perkins, the justly distinguished Nestorian missionary, says, "I hold that American slavery is the greatest human obstacle to the spread and triumph of Christianity that exists at the present period. I hold that our beloved native country is in most imminent peril, from the fearful system of American slavery, of falling into deep national disgrace, of calling down upon itself the signal judgments of heaven, and thus of blighting for a long period the fairest and the highest hopes of a suffering world." And the recent long delayed

action of the Prudential Committee of the American Board, sanctioned by the Board itself, in dropping the Choctaw Missions for their continued adhesion to slavery, has no doubt been hastened or emphasized by the fact that the missionaries of that Board, all over the world, feel that any responsible connection with slavery, of the society sending them out, is a greater burden than they can bear, and a greater damage to the salvation of men than the cause of Christ ought one moment longer to suffer.

Further, the immense evils and desolation to Africa herself, aside from the warfare upon missions, resulting from the slave traffic, pronounce the utter condemnation of slavery ten thousand times. Senator Davis complains that the Act of Congress, making the slave trade "piracy," "has destroyed a lucrative trade for ivory, oil, and gold-dust, which our merchants had long conducted with the inhabitants of the coast, and transferred it to our commercial rivals, the British." Let Mr. Davis look to Africa, and with some love for his neighbor, as well as for himself, consider what the slave commerce has done for *her* trade and all other interests. Commander Foote says, that legitimate "trade (in Africa) becomes inconsistent with slavery, and hostile to it!" The gold, ivory, dye-stuffs, and pepper, were procured on the coast, and were from exhaustible sources. They were obtained in the roaming expeditions connected with slave-hunting. "The great vegetable productions of the country, constituting heavy cargoes, have but lately come into the course of commerce." These "require more industry with the hands, and a settled life." "The squadrons were necessary to protect (legitimate) commerce against the piracy of the slaver afloat, and the ravages of the slaver on shore." "The cultivation of the ground renders human labor and life of higher value. This diminishes the number of victims for the slave trade, and the number of human sacrifices made in religious worship. The cultivation and civilization of the people ensue."—pp. 217, 89, 93. Will Mr. Davis be willing to suffer, for the present, a little diminution in the profits of trade with Africa, for these most valuable ends of humanity!

Mr. Foote further says: "Wherever the slave trade or its

effects penetrated, there of course peace vanished, and prosperity became impossible. This evil affected not only the coast, but spread warfare to rob the country of its inhabitants, far into the interior regions."—p. 90. Mr. Barth quotes from the Journal of Mr. Richardson as follows:

"From all reports, there is *an immense traffic of slaves that way exchanged against American goods*, which are driving out of the markets all the merchandise of the North. Indeed, it now appears, that all this part of Africa is put under contribution to *supply the South American market with slaves*."—Barth, vol. i, p. 517.

The Rev. T. J. Bowen, after spending six years in traveling in Africa, in speaking of the apprenticeship system of the French, whereby they carry away many of the negroes to their colonies, says: "Africans will not leave their country except by force;" and adds, that in the efforts to get laborers from there, "from two to four are destroyed for every one who reaches a plantation in America. In one journey of sixty miles I counted no less than eighteen towns and villages which had been laid in ruins to supply the slave markets." He himself saw a battle made by a slave-catching army, where twelve hundred and nine were left dead on the field, and he thinks as many more were killed next day.

An American missionary, Mr. Bowman, in a recent narrative, says:

"I have counted the sites of eighteen desolated towns within a distance of sixty miles, between Badagry and Abeokuta—the legitimate result of the slave trade. The whole Yoruba country is full of depopulated towns, some of which were even larger than Abeokuta is at present. Of all the places visited by the Landers, only Ishukki, Izbobo, Ikishi, and a few villages remain. Ijenna was destroyed a few weeks after my arrival in the country. Other and still larger towns have lately fallen. At one of these, called Oke Oddan, the Dahomey army killed or captured twenty thousand people, on which occasion the King presented Domings, the slaver, with six hundred slaves. The whole number of people destroyed in this section of country within the last fifty years, cannot be less than five hundred thousand."

We should like to ask Dr. Stiles whether he thinks the Lord has been pleased with all this, or similar "outrageous cruelty in making slaves," in order that He might "bring the heathen

to this country, sustain them in this country, and subject them to the Christian influence of this country."—p. 196. If not, why does he make any apology for it? Why ask us to give it respect, as one event in a "stupendous scheme of Providence," in a "grand missionary plan?" We would ask Mrs. Tracy, whether, in view of all these abominations, her "heart still swells with gratitude to the Great Father of all, for the institution of American slavery?"

Such then is the slave trade, as it has been and to a wide extent is now; such in all its horrors of hunting victims, and of the "Middle Passage" to the poor stolen ones, and of anarchy, and desolation, and fear to the bereaved ones left; such is the slave traffic to the work of missions and the civilization and Christianization of peeled, torn, bleeding Africa, and to the salvation of men among evangelized and unevangelized of all earth's inhabitants! And is all the bitter condemning past not enough? Shall the land of freedom [!] reopen the accursed commerce? Shall she multiply, and freight, and sail her ships away to doomed Africa for more and larger cargoes of human flesh and human souls? Shall America thus in disgust flout before Heaven the very principles which gave her standing among the nations of the earth? Shall she abolish her laws against this infernal trade, or scorn them to the death, and while barbarians, or half-civilized nations, vote the slave trade an "outrageous cruelty" and close all their commerce against it, shall America, prostitute-like, sweep out into it again, and fill up with slaves her present slave states full to the brim, and then her "New Mexico, and her future acquisitions yet to be made south of the Rio Grande?" Alas, is this America's destiny! Will she fall, and waste amid the wreck of empires, as she must, if this is to be her career of wickedness!

If the slave-trade is right and is to be reopened, then all the counter movements should be given up. Shall the slave trade, now swept from a thousand miles of the African coast through the agency of Liberia and Sierra Leone, be all restored? Where peace, the cultivation of the soil, and the beginning of

civilization have just arisen, as a shining sun upon the darkened earth, in consequence of the treaties made by England for the suppression of the slave trade with some one score and a half or more of African kings and chiefs, shall all go back again, and humanity scream for agony at the sight? Shall Liberia and Sierra Leone, that have so long, as Commander Foote and many others testify, exerted a noble redeeming influence on the surrounding tribes, and that have been to so many victims rescued from captured slavers, the opening doors to civilization and finally to their long-lost homes, shall Liberia and Sierra Leone be whelmed beneath the waves? Says the well known traveler Barth, once more: "With the abolition of the slave trade all along the northern and southern coast of Africa, slaves will cease to be brought down to the coast, and in this way a great deal of the mischief and misery necessarily resulting from this inhuman traffic will be cut off."—Vol. i, pp. 12, 13. But instead of its abolition, what if we open the sluiceways wider, even to their utmost capacity?

Speaking of the evils of domestic slavery in Africa, he says, "But the abolition of the foreign slave trade would be the beginning of a better system."—Vol. ii, p. 327. Now what system of degradation and woe will fallen human beings at last create there, if slavery and the slave trade are finally to swing forth into full and lasting career!

He says again, "The slave trade at present is, in fact, abolished on the North Coast."—p. 327. And shall the weak and half civilized powers on the north of Africa be left to point before the world the finger of scorn and shame at the United States for keeping the *western* coast open still and evermore to the horrors of the slave trade? When the English pressed the king of Dahomey to sign a treaty abolishing the slave trade, he plead to be excused, and said, "No other trade is known to my people. . . . . Who will pay my troops? Who will buy arms and clothes for them? Who will buy dresses for my wives? Who will give me supplies of cowries, rum, gunpowder, and cloth, for my annual 'customs?' . . . The slave trade has been the ruling principle of my people. It is the source of their glory

and wealth. Their songs celebrate their victories, and the mother lulls the child to sleep with notes of triumph over an enemy reduced to slavery."—Foote, pp. 82, 83. And now shall the treaties with slave kings prohibiting the slave trade, or the slave trade itself, be abolished? Shall slave commerce be fully opened once more, and the kings of Dahomey, and Ashantee, and the Gallinas, and all the rest, generation after generation, go, licensed by the civilized world, go, unbridled, to their only business, the slave trade, "and men celebrate with songs their victories over their victims, and mothers lull their babes to sleep with notes of triumph over fellow beings reduced to slavery?"

For two hundred years and more, from the beginning of the African slave trade, Africa had remained stationary or been degenerating in her barbarism, until the partial suppression of the slave commerce, and the opening of missionary labors inaugurated a more promising era. And now that the United States and Spain—amiable partners!—may have the felicitous profits of slavery, is the slave trade to be kept on its course, and Africa to be held to her heathenish doom—to her fate as the play-ground of robbers and murderers,—while millions on millions of human souls, yet unborn, shall be borne into mournful, suffering slave life and out of it, onward through generations unpredicted and unnumbered by man! God forbid!